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"Instead of these measures and this recommendation, what shall we see? Disputes about the dispatches "of Mr. Fox, as compared with the dispatches of Lord Mulgrave; and about the management of the fourth "coalition, as compared to the management of the third coalition. Debates about Mr Windham's training "bill, as compared with Mr Pitt's parish bill. We shall hear set speeches of two or three hours long; we "shall hear joke against joke; we shall hear a loud and unanimous call for sacrifices from the people; but, "not one word shall we hear of sacrifices for the people; though, on all hands, it will be allowed, that the "crisis is most alarming."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 20th December 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MESSRS. WHITBREAD AND REDHEAD YORKE. —— (*Continued from page* 991)

As *a mode of deciding disputes*, duelling yields not, in any one respect, to the ancient mode of trying orthodoxy in religion by walking blindfolded over red-hot plough-shares. The disputant who has the worst of it, is, of course, the aggrieved party, and, it as regularly follows, that the injury must be in an exact proportion to the degree in which he is in the wrong, and according to that degree must be the magnitude of the "satisfaction" which he has to demand. Philosophers and logicians have long been employed in discovering truth; and in laying down rules for communicating it to others; and, I think, it may safely be asserted, that the patrons of duelling, without either study, or brains wherewith to study, have discovered and applied, as far as they have been able, an infallible mode of securing the empire of ignorance and falsehood.——But, to expose a man to the hazard of his life, or to insist upon the right of calling him a coward, because he has exposed to the world that he possesses more talents or virtue than you possess, absurd as it is, is not more so than the laws and distinctions of the noble science of duelling. You are told, that the principal use of it is, to preserve good manners amongst *gentlemen*; and yet it is a rule, that *clergymen* are not to be challenged. Why not? To answer that question would puzzle a wiser head than any dueller ever yet wore. ——For, a clergyman is, surely, to be considered a gentleman; and, if the pretence be, that duelling is immoral, and, therefore, not to be allowed in a clergyman, then it is *unjustifiable* in other men; and, though, like swearing, it may be more particularly odious and, perhaps, more criminal in a clergyman, yet it will not bear justification in other men any more than swearing will bear it.——But, another rule, is, that none but a *gentleman* is either to be challenged or fought with. What constitutes a gentleman? Is *birth* required? No. Is *station*? No Is *property*? No. Are *talents*? No. Is *integrity*? No, no! What then? Why, a pretty good suit of clothes, whether paid for or not; a carriage, or, at least, a horse, no matter to whom belonging; a rotten carcass, lank jaws, a dirty-looking skin, sleepy-looking eyes, a voice half nasal and half gutteral, resembling the noise of a hen that has got the roop. To be a bastard of a man of some quality or fashion, or to have fathered the bastard of some such man, is regarded as sufficient to supply the place of many deficiencies; and to profess atheism, either from ignorance or perverseness, while, at the shake of a fever they tremble from apprehensions of an hereafter, is an absolute requisite. ——And these, good God! these are the creatures, to lash whom, collectively and individually, with both tongue and pen, is the duty of every good man; these are the creatures who call themselves gentlemen, and who refuse to notice the lashings and kickings and cuffings, which they receive from those, whom they have the insolence to consider as beneath them!—There is, however, one notable exception to this their rule; and, that is, when they happen to meet with a man; in what they term low-life, who has the ability to expose any such of them as live by plundering the public, they regard such a man as a common enemy; they make common cause against him; they perceive, that, if he lives, they must run the risk of starving; and, as they have naturally an aversion to the gallows, from some family, or other feeling, they choose the safer way of coming at him, if he be fool enough, by that of a duel, from the legal consequences of which they have little apprehensions. From scoundrels of this description, what man, possessed of dreaded talents and integrity, would ever escape?

They would meet in scores, and, like the caitiffs of a forlorn hope, draw cuts who should first venture his worthless life. Such a man, in place of being, as he ought to be, more secure than men in general; instead of feeling his life cherished and protected with peculiar care, would be a target for every political villain to fire at. In short, were the abominable notions of the duellers to be adopted and applied according to their caprice, there must, at once, be an end of all satire, of all criticism, of all comment, either in writing or in speech, and the public must become a prey to the avarice and the profligacy of peculators and plunderers of every sort and size.——In applying what has been here said to the particular cases of the worthy Messrs. Whitbread and Redhead Yorke, I must first observe, that the case of both came under the second view which I have taken of the subject, for, in both instances, a duel, or the semblance of a duel, has been resorted to, as a mode of deciding disputes. Mr. Whitbread writes and publishes a letter, in which he arraigns the principles of Sir Francis Burdett, throwing out, at the same time, some pretty intelligible insinuations as to his motives; and, this, observe, he does, too, just at the eve of a most important political contest, in which Sir Francis Burdett was engaged, and from a motive, which it was quite impossible not to perceive, and as impossible not to condemn. Sir Francis Burdett does not give him a public and professed answer. That he did not regard as necessary; and, indeed, the other had taken care so to time the publication of his attack as to preclude the possibility of a full answer in time to controvert the *intended* effect of the attack. He, therefore, answered this attacking letter in his several speeches, at the hustings, and in his last address to the Freeholders of the county, in which he made an exposure so complete of the ignorance as well as the motives of his assailant, that this latter could, it appears, bear it no longer. Relying upon the reputation he had acquired (by the aid of others) in the prosecution of Lord Melville, and inflated with the opinion that he had been led to entertain of his own talents, his letter seems to tell us, that, seeing the effect which Sir Francis Burdett's no-place-man principles were likely to produce, he stepped forth, a volunteer, to shelter his relations and friends from those effects. Little did he dream of the turn that things would take; little did he dream, that, instead of being received as the champion of sound principles, as the unsuspected umpire between contending disputants, he should be exposed in the manner he was; that he should be hooted at by some, laughed at by others, and that, upon the whole, he should see his political reputation completely destroyed, having no resource left but that of taking shelter under the wings of the Grenvilles, along with the rest of the Whigs, to whose reproaches, instead of whose thanks, he found himself entitled. In this situation, resembling that of the foolish knight in the play; "having sailed into the north of pub-"lic opinion, where he was hanging like an "icicle on a Dutchman's beard," some friend of his, like the wag, Sir Toby, called upon him, I dare say, "to do some-"thing, either in the way of *valour* or of "*wit*, to throw himself into the life of re-"putation;" and, speaking, no doubt, from experience, he has said, with his great prototype, "an it be in any way, it must be in "the way of valour;" whereupon his Sir Toby has said, "write me then, straight, a chal-"lenge to this man, who has had the wit to "put thee down, and expose thee to such "shame and mockery."——The letter and the message by his friend may, in a moment of despair, have proceeded from his own mind; but, I cannot help thinking, that they were the effect of some friendly suggestion of others, who had more clearly perceived the consequences of his defeat, because they had not been blinded by that vanity, which served, perhaps, to support him, until they were so obliging as to open his eyes.—— There was one thing, however, that he himself would readily perceive, and severely feel; and that was, our having (for many of us had had a hand in it), as I expressed myself upon a former occasion, scared him, like a rook from a wheat field, from that place, upon which he was, before the writing of his letter, just about to settle. He had not only been scared away for the moment, but the eyes of the whole nation had been rendered watchful with respect to him; and, the reader may be assured, that the words which stung him more severely than all the rest that were uttered against him were those, in which Sir Francis Burdett predicts, that he "will soon have both the will and "the power to obtain *a lucrative place un-*"*der government*, without much embarras-"sing himself as to the consequences."—— This was too much to bear; and yet to answer with the *pen* was impossible. He had had enough of the pen; and, besides, he was not disposed to deny the *fact*. The farther he went in the way of controversy, the farther he was sure to sink. To give a new turn to the contest, or, rather to create a new contest; to make men forget the old

subject, and to set them to the discussion of a new one, was absolutely necessary to his affairs. Hence these latter proceedings, and not from any nice sense of honour, or from any insult personally offered to him.—But, if his *honour* required satisfaction, in the case before us, how comes it that he has suffered to pass, without the least mark of resentment, Mr. Hewlings's letters to him, which letters have been published in the newspapers, and which should be published here, were it not for my unshaken attachment to *the liberty of the press*, and were I not very far from being certain, that Mr. Whitbread would not have recourse to the law as readily as he has had recourse to the other mode of deciding disputes. Now, supposing his *honour* to have required the mode which he adopted with regard to Sir Francis Burdett, what excuse can he find for suffering Mr. Hewlings's publication to remain unnoticed? He would, perhaps, say, that Mr. Hewlings is *beneath* his notice. Upon what principle is he beneath him? He sells *feathers*, and Mr. Whitbread sells *beer*. His father is a *miller*, I believe; and the father of Mr. Whitbread, even from his own account of the matter, was something lower than a miller. Mr. Hewlings is a taller and a handsomer man, and is certainly a better speech-maker, than Mr. Whitbread. Laying money out of the question, and Mr. Hewlings is by far the most important person of the two. Nay, include the money, look at and hear the men, and I am sure, that there is no one, who, if he had the option of being created a-new, would not choose to be Mr. Hewlings rather than Mr. Whitbread; and, without having recourse to this mode of estimating, I am deceived if there are many well-informed persons, who would not, at this moment, prefer the chances of Mr. Hewlings to Mr. Whitbread's. Upon what principle, then, again I ask, is the former beneath the latter? and how is it that no answer is given to the published letters of Mr. Hewlings? How comes it that Mr. Brand does not pay him a visit, too? The honour of this Mr. Whitbread must certainly be of a very discriminating kind; but it discriminates only with one eye; it can see, that others are, according to his mode of estimating, beneath him, while it seems to be quite blind to his own inferiority. The barrel of his vanity is so full, that even now he appears not to perceive that he is a less man than Sir Francis Burdett. The froth of his conceit has so completely put his eyes out, that he still seems to think himself upon an equality with the man, to whom millions are looking as their last hope. Were he not thus bloated and blinded, he surely would see the real distance between him and Sir Francis Burdett, in every way in which a comparison can be drawn, is far greater than the imaginary distance between Mr. Hewlings and him. Who would not laugh at the absurdity of the thing, if the King of Prussia were now to challenge the Emperor Napoleon? Yet, who is there that will pretend to say, that there is not a palpable analogy in the two cases? Who is there that will pretend to say, that, in point of situation in the world, Sir Francis Burdett is not as much above Mr. Whitbread, as the Emperor Napoleon is above the King of Prussia?——As to the challenge of Mr. Redhead Yorke, that shall not detain us long. Upon what principle, good Lord! is it, that a man like Sir Francis Burdett could be called on to fire pistols with a person (if I may use the word) like this? With respect to the article of *birth*, indeed, Redhead may be the equal, if not the superior, of the Baronet, though the latter is well known to be of a very ancient family; for Redhead, like the Sheridans, boasts, that "*royal* blood runs in his veins," he being, as he is said to assert, a descendant, on the female side, in a direct line, from Lee Boo, one of the most ancient and venerable of the sable sovereigns of Africa. Of what rank or degree, of what nation, colour, or profession, his immediate male ancestor may have been, I know not, nor does it much signify; for, it is the character of the man himself that we have, in such a case as this, to look to. Sir Francis Burdett is not one amongst those, who, in times like these, have had the unspeakable wisdom to set birth, nay, *pretended* birth, against all other requisites, in public men; and, therefore, it is not to be supposed, that, from any objection of this sort, his silence, upon receiving the challenge of Redhead, proceeded.—But, is it not trifling with the reader, to affect to talk seriously upon such a subject? Redhead, seconded by his inseparable friend, John Bowles, had uttered the most false and scurrilous expressions relative to Sir Francis Burdett, at the meeting which was held for the purpose of setting up the Bank-Director against him; and, Sir Francis, in one of his celebrated speeches, speaking of the sort of persons, by whom he had been opposed, gave a most appropriate description of these worthies. To say that the description was *true* will be sufficient to convince the reader, that it was well calculated to excite their rage; and, the consequence, as far as related to Redhead, we know. The result was humourous enough; for, it appears, that, re-

ceiving no answer to his letter, Redhead had so much respect for the law as to give information, or to cause information to be given, to the police magistrates, of his having sent a challenge, upon which he was immediately apprehended, and bound to keep the peace. They need not have *bound* him. A simple admonition would have been enough. If Sir Francis had accepted the challenge, and had deferred the meeting for a week, the chances are, that, if no magistrate could have been found to bind Redhead to the peace, the gallant prince would, in the interim, have died with fear.——Redhead has, indeed, denied, in the newspapers, that he gave the information to the police magistrates, or that he caused it to be given. But, to say as little as may be of the intrinsic worth of any assertion of his, under any circumstances, we have, on the other side, the positive assertion of Sir Francis Burdett, who declares, that *he* never communicated Redhead's letter to any human being, and, when we add to this, the fact, that Redhead is upon terms of such intimacy with the police magistrates, as to be, as their advertisement tells us) *actually engaged in a literary partnership with one of them*, there will, I imagine, remain little doubt as to the source of the information which produced the sureties to keep the peace.——Scrub gives a humourous description of the way, in which the men of honour, in the neighbourhood of my Lady Bountiful, avoid the consequences of a challenge; but Redhead's is certainly an improvement. A sister, or a mother, or a wife might, upon the hint given them, be so malicious as to hold their tongues; but, Redhead, like a truly great general, takes care to leave nothing to others. —The duellers, in general, have a pretty clear understanding before they go to the field; either they load with paper pellets, as in the recent instance of a poet and a critic, or they know very well that the shot (barring effects of a trembling hand) will not come within yards of them; but, if Sir Francis Burdett had happened to be so mad as to go to the field with Redhead, the latter could not possibly hope for any security of this sort; and, therefore, he took very good care to get his friends to bind him not to go there.——In taking leave of this subject, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret, that Sir Francis Burdett condescended to give any answer at all to the bluff letter of Mr. Whibread; not because I think he said, in that answer, any thing unworthy of himself; but, because the answering at all seemed to recognize the *right* of the other to demand "satisfaction," as it is called, at his hands, on account of any thing that he did say, or could say of him, in his speeches or addresses; and because I am certain, that, any man acting upon the principle of such recognition, will, under the circumstances that will present themselves to Sir Francis Burdett, very soon lose his life. A man, who has devoted his life to the service of his country, acts a very inconsistent part indeed, if he throw it away without the possibility of its doing that country any good. The more Sir Francis Burdett serves his country, the more will he necessarily goad and sting its plunderers, and the more he goads and stings them, the more eagerly, of course, will they seek his life; for, the more clear will their conviction daily become, that his life is death to them.—It is curious enough, that, in their party warfare; in their wrangling for place and power; in all their contests of this kind, though carried on with the utmost acrimony, and giving rise to personalities the most coarse and vilifying, as for instance, when one man calls another the creature, the tool, the cat's-paw, or the *sitting-part* of another; it is curious enough, that, amidst all this, you never hear of *their* challenging one another! "Aye," would would they tell me, "but this is all understood. This is all fair. But, when a cruel "savage, like Burdett, strikes at the very "vitals of us all, the case is different." The case is different, indeed; and a desperate case it is; but it is a case that must not expose the life of Sir Francis Burdett to the pistol of every Irish chairman that his and our enemies may dress up in fine cloaths and admit to their clubs; or, his life is not worth much to his country.——No inconsiderable part of the duels that are fought, proceed from that species of cowardice which render men unable to face the sneers of fools and villains in profligate life; so that, they actually go to the field in order to disguise the fact that they are cowards; in order that they may not be taken for what they really are, and what they feel they are. Amongst soldiers; amongst men, who, from the peculiarities of their situation in life, as well as from their general youth and rashness, I do not say, that there may not be something like reason produced for this otherwise senseless and unjust mode of settling disputes; though, even there, I am sure such reason must always be founded upon facts, which would, if true, prove a total want of wisdom in the formation and discipline of an army; and though, at any rate, it would be utterly impossible to find a justification for the patronizing of duels in one, who has just assisted in passing a law rigidly forbidding

them; but, in common life, to attempt to justify duelling; to regard it as a proper mode of settling dis- putes of any sort; and especially to introduce it amongst the means of deciding political controversies, and of maintaining orrestoring political character, is something too shockingly absurd to admit of an adequate description.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—The appearance of a correspondence, in the daily papers, between MR. PAULL and MR. ELLIOT, the porter-brewer of Pimlico, who is, it seems, also a *colonel*, in which correspondence my name is mentioned, seems to call upon me for a declaration of what I know of the matter.——The state of the case is this. Mr. Paull wrote to Mr. ELLIOT VOYLE, a relation of the "Colonel," who was at the Colonel's house during the election, to ask him to obtain for him, the vote and interest of the "Colonel." The answer of Mr. Voyle the public have seen. When Mr. Elliot came to town, which was, as nearly as I can recollect, the very day, or the day after, the coalition had been openly announced between the Commodore and Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Paull went to Mr. Elliot's house; and, as I was going with him from the Feather's at Pimlico to the lower part of Westminster, I sat in the carriage while he went into the house. He staid some time, and when he came out, a person, who, as he informed me, was Elliot himself, came with him to the carriage door. What had passed between them while in the house, I, of course cannot say; but, this person I saw *shake him cordially by the hand*, I heard him *wish him success*, and bid him good night. And, the moment the carriage door was shut, "Well," said Mr. Paull, "I am glad "I came, Cobbett, though it was against "your advice; for I now know, that I am "safe here. Elliot is resolved not to stir "for Sheridan. He is shocked at the base- "ness of the coalition." I remember well, that, after Mr. Paull was in the carriage, he called out to the "Colonel," and thanked him; and, by the same token, I remember, that I advised him to keep his thanks for other people; "for," said I, "if that brew- "er does not exert his influence against you "underhand, write me down an ass." In a few days we saw him openly join our enemies and the enemies of the independence and honour of the city of Westminster; we saw him a chairman at a dinner of the coalition; we saw him proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Sheridan; and we saw him aid a public subscription for the support of Mr. Sheridan; of which subscription he, as Mr. Paull says, agreed to be the Treasurer!——But, upon the face of the matter, without having recourse to my evidence, or that of any other person, does not Mr. Paull's charge against him appear to be well founded? Why not give his *vote* for Mr. Sheridan? What a miserable subterfuge, to say that his promised neutrality extended no farther than his *own vote*? Can any man believe, that he would ever have offered such a neutrality? Of what value was it? *He says*, that Mr. Paull *thanked* him Now, can any man believe, that Mr. Paull would have thanked such a man, in such a case, for the neutrality of a *single vote*? Must not Elliot himself have been certain, that the thanks were given for the neutrality of his *hundreds of votes*? And, if he had not intended this latter neutrality, would he not, if he had been a fair and honest politician, have undeceived Mr. Paull? Is not silence, in such a case, equal to a positive promise? And, therefore, does not this "Colonel," even according to his own confession, stand convicted of a breach of faith?——For my part, I always disapproved of all solicitation to persons of this brewer's description. It was beneath Mr. Paull; it was far beneath our cause, to ask for the aid, or the forbearance, of any such man; and, I am certain, that every moment, spent in this way, was worse than a moment lost.——Mr. Paull in the letters he has written to the "Colonel," hints that the price of his conduct is to be a seat in parliament, for Westminster, at the next election, which, I am of opinion, is *at no great distance*. But there is an old fable about selling the skin before the lion was caught; and, if the "Colonel" should catch him, the act of catching at least, if we all live and do well, he will not find a sinecure. The self same men that his friend Sheridan had to contend with, he, in that case, will have to contend with; and, let him recollect, that they will not come inexperienced to the contest, as they did before. If he thinks that we are *disheartened*, he is the most deceived of mankind. We did all we could. Nothing that was lawful and honourable did we leave untried to carry our point; and as to all the great and *general* purposes, that we had in view, our triumph was complete. Let another contest come; let the ministers, in yielding to their benign dispositions towards the people, give us but another opportunity of trying our principles, and I confidently trust that the "Colonel" will find those principles a great deal stronger and more pure than his porter. The "Colonel" is not aware, I dare say, that the undue influence of brewers, as well as

that of other descriptions of persons, has been shaken in Westminster. The "Colonel," though, doubtless a great commander, is, it is said, no conjuror; which, indeed, is so much in his commendation, for your conjurors, like Pitt, generally do more harm than good. But, upon this particular occasion a little matter of the gift of second-sight would not be amiss in the "Colonel," for whom, if I am not very much out in my reckoning, there is as nice a storm brewing as heart could wish, though there may not be quite so much smoke as issues from his brewery.——But, while this is my opinion with respect to Mr. Elliot, and while I unequivocally approve of the conduct of Mr. Paull in exposing that gentleman in his true light; there is one expression, in the last letter of Mr Paull, which, as it would now appear (for I have but this moment seen the news-papers) was intended to lead to a duel, at which I cannot refrain from expressing my regret. Who may have given the information to the magistrates, I know not; but, the parties must both excuse me, if I am of opinion, that they were exceedingly glad that it was done. As to the proposition, which is said to have been made by Mr. Paull, *to take a trip to the Continent*, there is something so wild in it, especially when made to a man like Mr. Elliot, that one can hardly speak of it in serious terms.——How has this challenge altered the state of the case? Has it affected any fact? Will it make sensible men believe that to be right, which they before thought wrong? Is this the way to appeal to the reason and justice of the public? Is this the way for the parties to convince us, that they are worthy of being chosen as the repositories of the interests and the honour of our country? Is this the way for them to convince us, that they have heads calculated for the devising of means adequate to our preservation, in the awful times that are approaching? Is this the way, in which Mr Paull especially, who, only a few months before, *assisted in passing a law to punish duelling*, means to evince to us his respect for the laws of the land, and his inflexibility in maintaining those laws? Believe, me, Sir, that, if England be to be saved from the all-devouring jaws of her enemy; if she be to be preserved amidst the wreck of Europe; if she be to be enabled to recover her ancient liberties, and, along with them, her weight and consequence in the world; it never will be either by the heads or the hearts of duellers.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——The Parliament met on the 15th instant. MR. ABBOTT, the Speaker of the last House of Commons, was re-chosen to that situation, without any opposition. Of the dull ceremony, and duller published speeches, connected with this first act of the House of Commons, it is useless to say any thing; but, it just occurs to me to ask, whether it be possible for any man to be so infatuated as to believe, that the lofty reciprocal compliments, passed upon this occasion, would have, upon any one man in the kingdom, any other effect than such as they have had upon me?——In describing the members of the House of Commons, assembled on the first day, the newspapers conclude thus: "Amongst others, we observed, Mr. CAL-"CRAFT, GENERAL FITZPATRICK, and a "large number of *inferior characters*."—Who they mean by these "*inferior* charac-"ters," I can neither say nor imagine; whether their eye was, at the time, surveying about the door, or the inside of the House; but, upon reading the words "inferior cha-"racters," an involuntary exclamation of, *Mercy upon us!* escaped from my lips.——On the 19th instant the two Houses met to hear the SPEECH, which was delivered by *Commission*, the King not coming to the House in person. This speech will be found in a subsequent page of this present sheet. Upon the debates, consequent thereon, as those debates are published in the newspapers, the first remark I shall make is, that they have fully realized my anticipations, which I have referred to and quoted in my motto, and which, as the date of the Register will shew, I was writing in Berkshire, at the very moment when the debates were going on.——I mention not this with a view of causing it to be believed, that I am more sagacious than other men; for knowing the parties and their views, a man must be a simpleton indeed not to know pretty nearly what would be the topics they would select, and the sentiments they would utter. ——Is there any thing, in what has been published, as speeches made in this new Parliament, to encourage us to hope, that there is in contemplation any of those great changes, which I have so often represented as necessary to enable us to resist the designs of the foe? There are some loose expressions, in the SPEECH, about combining all *practicable economy* with those efforts which it is necessary to "make against the "formidable and increasing power of the "enemy;" but nothing do we hear specific, either in the SPEECH, or in the debates thereon. No man, on any side, talks of giving up any thing; that way of lightening the burthens of the people, appears not to be at all thought of; and the loose phrase about practical

economy has, therefore, no practical meaning.——We all feel, and we all acknowledge, that the crisis is most perilous. This is also acknowledged in the debates. But, alas! it has been acknowledged every year for these ten years last past, and every year has passed away without any thing being done calculated to meet extraordinary dangers. The consequence to be apprehended, is, that the people will scout the idea of a *crisis* which lasts for years; and, that in the end, they will be tired of living in an incessant crisis.——Amongst the subjects of more particular remark, presented in these debates, I shall notice, 1st, that of the dissolution of Parliament. Lord Hawkesbury in the upper, and Mr. Canning in the lower House, dwelt upon the dissolution as a matter of censure. My opinion of the good effects of the dissolution has been before submitted to my readers; and, as to the *motives* now ascribed to ministers, they may, perhaps, have been the real motives; but, for the supporters of Pitt, for those who aided him, in his dissolution in 1784, and who were so amply rewarded for that aid; for such men to censure the motives of the late dissolution is, indeed, something surpassing our utmost conception of the powers of face! True, the ministers advised the King to dissolve the parliament at the very moment when, agreeably to proclamation, it was expected to meet for dispatch of business; true, they took their enemies by surprize, and thereby gained many advantages over them; but, though such a device may call for the censure of us, who are mere spectators of the contest, with what face can the supporters of Pitt, who stuck at nothing in this way; with what face can they, who supported him in his motion for the removing the trial of Lord Melville, after one half of the members of the House of Commons were gone out of town; with what face can they possibly complain of unfair advantages being taken of them? Let them complain. No man who loves his country will join in their complaints, or will pity them. The more completely they are defeated, the better it is for us. They have wallowed long enough in the fruit of our earnings. They have long enough tyrannized over us: and, though their successors were to do the same, or worse, it is, in the meanwhile, a great consolation to see them mortified and degraded.——2nd. That no notice was taken, in the SPEECH, of the battle of Maida, has, in the printed speeches of Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval, been a subject of cavil. But, is it not evident, that the victory there gained, if indeed, it was a victory, was of too small importance to find a place in the King's speech? If we look, either at the magnitude of the force, the nature of the combat, or the consequences resulting from it, we shall find that it was of far too little importance to be distinguished by being particularly noticed in the King's speech to his parliament.——3rd. The capture of Buenos Ayres should also, it seems, according to the afore-mentioned speeches, have found a place in the King's speech; but, if it had, the *conduct of the commanders* must have been omitted, or must have been censured; for, if such conduct is to be justified merely upon the score of success, I will venture to say, that success, except as far as *plunder* may go, will very soon desert the standards of both fleet and army. The conduct of Sir Home Popham, in writing his circular letters directly to the traders of Birmingham and elsewhere is highly reprehensible. It is what nothing but a dissolution of the government at home could possibly have warranted; and, if the ministers had suffered him to remain in his command, after such conduct, they would have been considered as amongst the most foolish as well as the most mean of mankind. What Lord Howick is stated in the newspapers to have said about the *Lloyd's Fund* does him great honour, and it is to me, a most satisfactory symptom, that the ministers have mustered up courage to break loose from the degrading trammels of the 'Change, upon which Pitt and his minions relied for support in all their outrageous attacks upon the properties and liberties of the people. To the 'Change and all its selfish passions, if passions the feelings of such men can be called, the government of England has long been a slave. Its policy, dictated by the shop-keeping mind of the 'Change, has gone downwards lower and lower, until, at last, it became too low to be described even by the epithet *peddling*. The consequences are before us! We now *feel* what it is to have been governed for twenty years upon principles engendered at the 'Change; and, though it may suit the purposes of wranglers for place to endeavour to raise a cry about slighting our commercial interests, I am fully persuaded, that every man of sound sense will rejoice at the hope of seeing those interests no longer predominant, as they have been over all others.—— To return, for a moment, to the capture of Buenos Ayres: if the conduct of the commanders was passed over in silence, it is said, that the *value of the thing itself* might have been noticed. I would fain put the best construction upon every thing; and, therefore, in observing this silence, I was in hopes,

as I still am, that it proceeded from a conviction, in the minds of the ministers, that the thing itself was of *no value* at all. That such is really the case, I am, for my part, fully convinced. Nay, I am convinced that it is *injurious* to the country; that it will, in no way whatever, add to its power, to its means either of defence or of offence; while we shall feel, that it makes a considerable addition to the taxes. The *captors*, together with certain lucky speculators, it will enrich. It will transfer another old family estate or two from the present holders to upstarts. It will mould a few more farms into parks, levelling the dwellings of the former tenants, and sending those tenants on their way to the work-house, their sons to wear liveries in some of the streets and their daughters to walk other of the streets of the already over-grown metropolis. But, comfort or relief to one oppressed soul in England it never will give. And this is the atchievement of which we are told the King ought to have boasted! This is the atchievement, illumined with not one ray of glory, attended with not one honourable circumstance, of which, we are told, the King ought to have congratulated his people!—4th. Mr. Perceval, in the debate of the 20th of December, when the report of the Address was brought up, is reported to have said, that "he supposed, that the discussions which related to the commercial intercourse between "Great Britain and America had not been "brought to a close, otherwise it assuredly "would have been mentioned from the "throne. When he recollected the bills "which were introduced into the House "during the last Session on this subject, "when he considered their nature and principle, when he remembered that they went "to the destruction of that on which our "naval strength and superiority had been "founded, and when he reflected on the "character and sentiments of the persons "who had been chosen by this country to "carry on the Negociation with America, "he owned that he looked forward with considerable apprehension to the period when "that Negociation would terminate"—As to the *sentiments* of the two persons, who, on our part, are conducting this discussion, I *know* nothing; though, if I were to guess at them, it would be they leant too much on the side of concession. 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But, after the American revolution, it was found necessary so far to relax in the enforcement of these laws, as to permit the Americans to carry in their own ships, and under certain restrictions, such of their produce as our colonies stood in need of, and also to carry away, in those same ships, certain articles of our colonial produce, taking care to proportion the quantity, so carried away, to the quantity of American produce brought in each ship respectively. That this intercourse was useful to the planters in our colonies, as well as to the Americans, no one can, I think, deny; and, that it was absolutely necessary to the existence of the former every man, who has a knowledge of the sources of supply, must know. But, this relaxation of our navigation laws; this permitted intercourse, was not so beneficial as it might have been, because it was somewhat precarious, by being made to depend upon the will of the several Governors, or their Lieutenants, who issued their proclamations, every six months, declaring a renewal of the permission. And, though they did in no instance, I believe, for twenty years, fail to issue their proclamations in due time (a pretty good proof of the necessity of the intercourse (yet, the power of permission being lodged in their hands was an obvious absurdity; was liable to produce serious mischiefs to the colonies; and, in some instances, did produce such mischiefs. Now, all the bills, of which Mr. Perceval complains, and of which the Master of the Rolls before complained, have done, is, to prevent the possibility of such mischiefs, by taking the power of permission out of the hands of the Governors (who may be engaged, at times, in warm disputes with the planters in assembly met) and to place it in the hands of the government at home; at the same time, rendering the intercourse less exposed to uncertainty of duration,—— The total ignorance discovered, in the speech of the Master of the Rolls, upon many parts of this subject, and the sophistry visible in other parts of it, shall be noticed upon some future occasion; but, I would ask the printer of Mr. Perceval's speech, above quoted what ground there could be for drawing from the "nature and principle of these bills,", an inference, that the ministers are now about to surrender our *right of searching neutral vessels at sea?* To say, that those bills

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The constitution, in forming barriers against the exercise of despotic power, contemplated times of discontent and of popular effervescence; it was for *such seasons* especially that the laws for the personal safety and liberty of the people were formed, because the free expression of the sense of the people was regarded as the only means of bringing back

their rulers to the path of moderation. But, if, the moment the people, or any part of them, discover symptoms of discontent; if, that moment, the barriers are to be removed out of the way; if, that moment "an enlargement of the executive power" is to take place; is it not a shameful deception to talk of those barriers, and to hold them up as blessings, to preserve which the people are to shed their blood in a conflict with the army of an invader? This speech has, and particularly upon this subject, revived in my mind the recollection of the acts of the Pitt administration, which, though the present ministers have imitated it in but too many instances, they will not, I am convinced, imitate it in having recourse, unless in cases of the very last necessity, to "extraordinary exertions of the law," and to "enlargements of the executive power." It was under the Pitt administration, that Englishmen lived seven years with the *Habeas Corpus* act suspended. Let this be inscribed upon the monument of their dear deceased leader; but, let us resolve to do nothing that shall open a way for their return to power.—6th. It is truly curious to hear the author of this speech, published under the name of Mr. Perceval, taunt the ministers with *a want of popularity*, as exemplified in the recent elections, particularly those of Hampshire and Westminster, and to hear him exult at the fall of Mr. Sheridan before Mr. Paull. As to Hampshire, whatever part of the popular voice (in which I include that of all independent men) was heard against the ministerial candidates, was heard also for Sir Francis Burdett; or, at least, was not heard for that set of men, who would fain, if they had the abilities to do it, preserve the influence, which the all-pervading and degrading power of Pitt enabled them to exercise. This must be a great consolation to the author of the speech; who may be assured, too, that, though Mr. Sheridan has been stripped of his popularity, not a rag or a thread of the mantle has passed to him or any of his associates. The fact is, that, wherever the ministers and their friends have lost their popularity, the loss has proceeded either from their not having, by their actions shown their rooted enmity to the Pitt system, or from their having, as in the cases of Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, and Peter Moore, shown themselves the friends of that system. This must be a great consolation, a fine subject of boasting, with the author of the speech before us! It must be very satisfactory for him to find that his opponents have been ruined in reputation by having so acted, as to be suspected of having adopted his principles! A truly diabolical satisfaction! for it is thus that Satan is said to rejoice at the perdition of those, whom he has seduced into sin.——The author of this speech, be he who he may, knows very well, that there is no popularity for him, or his place-hunting faction. He well knows, that the people, though they have seen much to regret in the conduct of the present ministers, in the way both of commission and of omission; though they still see much to regret in that conduct; and though they fear to see much more, yet, that, whatever they have seen in this conduct, they would dread a thousand times more the return to power of the minions of Pitt. The ministers may possibly so act as to gain our hearts; their present opponents never can; and these opponents know it so well, that they make no attempt in that direction; their appeals, and their hopes, are all *another way*; but, that they will see their projects frustrated must be the prayer of every man, for were they to succeed, conscious of our hatred of them, they would rule us upon no other principle than that of fear; with two hundred thousand bayonets at their back, they would strip us of our very skins, or drive us to tear both them and the government to pieces.——"An *extraordinary exertion of the law!*" An "*enlargement of the executive power!*" Let us not forget these words. They convey the idea of spies, jails, tortures, and gibbets. Let us bear them in mind; and, let us never, in word or in deed, shew our disapprobation of the present ministers, without at the same time guarding our hearts against men who come forward as volunteers to offer their services to oppress, to grind, to degrade, to muzzle, and to stifle us. The day will come; the day *must* come, when we shall have ample opportunity of reminding them of these tyrant-like phrases; and let us still hope, that the present ministers will give us that opportunity; but in the meanwhile let us take care to keep out of the clutches of those, who, from a principle of self-preservation, must, if they were to obtain the power, rule us with scorpions. The speech, published under the name of Lord Howick, has, I must confess, given me some little ground to hope for a change of system. The part about the Duke of Brunswick might, I think, have been omitted. It seems too much like an endeavour to *out-bid* his opponents, and it certainly went further than reason or truth could warrant. But with this exception; the speech was manly, and every way worthy of Mr. Grey. I, for my part, augur good from it; and, if I am disappointed, it will neither be the first time nor the last

*** A Mr. Homan, a particular friend of Mr. Sheridan, wrote to me two weeks ago, to ask me if I would admit a letter in the defence of that gentleman. I caused an answer to be given him, that I certainly would. He has not yet sent it; and this is one of the causes for delaying my intended comments upon the Play-actors' Dinner to the Sheridans; which, however, cannot be delayed any longer than next week, whether Mr. Homan send his letter or not.—In the meanwhile, however, I insert a letter from a very judicious friend of Mr. Sheridan, signed R. W. Let it go without answer. I have opportunities enough of promulgating my sentiments; and I am always glad to have it in my power to afford others a like opportunity Others, indeed, do not deal thus by me. No one was ever so foully treated by the press as I have been; but, as experience has taught me, that such treatment seldom produces any evil effect, except to those who have recourse to it, I feel little disposed to imitate it.——Immediately after the letter in defence of Mr Sheridan, will be found one addressed to Mr. Whitbread.

" What mighty perils do environ
" The man that meddles with cold iron!"

But not more than environ a conceited man that meddles with the pen and the press! Mr. Whitbread thought he was sallying forth against foes that would fall down at the very sound of his name. How cruelly his overweening vanity has deceived him the world can now judge. His letter to Sir Francis Burdett, and his speeches in favour of Mr. Sheridan, were the effect of unparallaled self-conceit. The consequences will, let us hope, be a useful lesson to him.

☞ Since the above was written, Mr. Homan's Defence of Mr. Sheridan has reached me, and will be found immediately below.

DEFENCE OF MR. SHERIDAN.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTERS.

LETTER I.

Having once taken the field against Mr. Cobbett in his own paper, I resume my pen, though contrary, I know, to the wishes of the man I most respect on earth—thanking Mr. Cobbett at the same time for the indulgence of inserting my last observations, however directly pointed against himself, and for his present promises that he will insert every word I shall, in future, send him in the same cause. Whether I owe this to the rashness of self confidence, or to feellings of real candour and sudden contrition, I am equally grateful for his pledge, and I cannot prove my gratitude better than by abstaining when I mention either him or Mr. Paull (for of their supporters few know their names and fewer their characters) from retorting any part of the scurrility which they have conceived their cause required them to resort to.—The present object of my animadversions is—THE VERACITY OF MR. COBBETT.—We are informed by Mr. Cobbett himself, that Mr. Sheridan in a note to his committee of the Shakespear addressed to Peter Moore, Esq., expressed himself in the following words, " As to Mr. Cobbett, " I must again beg leave to differ from the " Committee. Believe me there can be no " use in continuing to detect and expose the " gross and scurrilous untruths which his " nature, his habits, and his cause compel " him to deal in. Leave him to himself; " rely on it, there is not a man, woman, or " child, in Great Britain, who believes one " word he says." These are certainly strong and contemptuous words, and with all my partiality and devotion to Mr. Sheridan, I would not support him in the application of them, unless it lay within my own reach to know and to be able to prove, that never was there an observation better applied or more fit to be attended to—I mean to enter into a short exposition of those reiterated falsehoods which render Mr. Cobbett wholly unworthy of credit by any " one man, wo- " man or child in Great Britain." In doing this I beg you, Electors of Westminster, to observe that I do not charge Mr. Cobbett with uttering *wilful lies*. But he has no memory when his imagination and temper are irritated and inflamed. I so expressed myself in my former letter to him when I said—" There is not one syllable of truth in the " assertion of facts, which you seem so hastily to have picked up from rumour and " hearsay, or so credulously to have adopted " from the interested malignity of faction. In perusing what I now address to your attention you will at once perceive that I only display my canvass and lay in my ground, reserving your attention to the figures and representations that shall hereafter arise therefrom. Mr. Cobbett has announced these my promised remarks as an OFFICIAL DEFENCE of the SHERIDANS, and therefore he is graciously pleased to declare that " He " will abstain from saying any thing more " of the Sheridans until the Public has had " an opportunity of seeing this their de- " fence." I deprecate his mercy, conscious that nothing could offend Mr. Sheridan more than that the officiousness of my friendship in his cause should have suspended one expression of Mr. Cobbett's malignity against him. As to the *official* solemnity which

Mr. Cobbett chooses to give to my correspondence with him, I can only assert that the palpable insinuation by which he means to give importance to that correspondence, namely, that the Sheridans are concerned in it, is an untruth. The dignified contempt with which Mr. Sheridan has through his life refused to notice his libellers, or in any one instance to prosecute them, is too well known to require from me a comment.—The single person to whom I communicate what I write, and to whose comments I acknowledge my obligations, is the gentleman whose attention to the facts I shall produce will be signed by his name—a gentleman not *unknown to Sir Francis Burdett*, but entitled, I believe, to be gratefully remembered by him, and attached to Mr. Sheridan, as I believe, only because he prefers him as the true and tried Friend of genuine liberty.—Now, Gentlemen, in Mr. Cobbett's fourth Letter to the Electors of Westminster, he thus expresses himself respecting me—and I do, with entirely gentlemanly consideration, thank him for the courtesy with which he has treated me.—He says, "He knows me not, and that he "never before heard my name."—I make no pert comment on this assertion, because I think it (although an assertion coming from Mr Cobbett) very possible to be true: but I will gratify his curiosity, and really without intending to disappoint his malice. I am the son of as good a family as stands in the county of Westmeath in Ireland, a family nearly allied to one of the first in this kingdom, and the Nephew of the Bishop of Killalla, whose admired works are too highly distinguished in the literary world to need a comment from me, and whose published account of the proceedings in Ireland, after he had been made prisoner by the French in his Palace at Killala, are also before the Public. I feel the grievances of Ireland, but I feel no better mode of redressing them, than as an Irishman giving my most eager and ardent support to MY DISTINGUISHED COUNTRYMAN, who appears to me the most resolute and the most able man to support the cause of MY LONG INJURED AND INSULTED COUNTRY.—Thus far, Sir, *I tell you who I am.* I add as a slight excuse for my earnestness in the cause—though sure I am a motive not operating on my mind—that I have the happiness to be allied by marriage to Mr. Sheridan, which has afforded me opportunities of better knowing, and consequently of *increasing* my respect for his character—and now I hope Mr. Cobbett is satisfied who I am.—I now, Gentlemen, mean to announce to you, that unless Mr. Cobbett shrinks and flinches from his pledge of allowing me fair play in his paper, I will follow him through all the attacks he has made, or may hereafter make on Mr. Sheridan; and I pledge myself to refute all his calumnies and to shew that Mr. Sheridan's conduct throughout the Westminster Election has not only been without a blot, but has evinced principles and conduct which justly entitle him to the affectionate esteem which I know the great majority of all that is respectable among you feel for him. If I have not come forward at the time Mr. Cobbett had undoubtedly a right to expect, I have explained my reasons and made my apology to his friend Mr. Wright; and I confess, that after Mr. Cobbett's tremendous annunciation of the vigour of his libel against Mr. Sheridan on Saturday next, I wished to wait to look at it. One remark only more—Mr. Cobbett's boasted attack is to be on the *Play Actors' Dinner* (as he is pleased to style it) at the Old Shakespear Tavern. Mr. Cobbett has an adventurous and ingenious way of assuming that every newspaper report of every public dinner, toasts, speeches, &c. are exactly correct; and he gives the most solemn authenticity to that account, which it best suits his purpose to answer. In the present instance however, he must fail ridiculously. No report was or could be made of what passed at that dinner. It was entirely of a private nature; and I positively assert, that *not one* of the respectable class of gentlemen connected with the press, who occasionally take their tickets at real *public* dinners on *public* occasions was present: any stray paragraphs, therefore, which may have stolen into the papers on the subject have most probably been sent by persons, like Mr. Cobbett, sorely afflicted at the enthusiastic veneration expressed for our Member by those who, however Mr. Cobbett may dare to stigmatize their profession, have had the very best opportunities of estimating Mr. Sheridan's worth and character—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect, yours, &c.

FREDERICK HOMAN.

Tuesday, Dec. 23, 1806.

MR. SHERIDAN.

SIR,—I not only admit the propriety of closely investigating the conduct of public men on all measures, but highly approve of such investigation to the fullest extent; yet, Sir, I by no means admit the justice, or propriety, of holding up a man as void of all principle, and thereby consigning him to

public infamy, as a character never again to be confided in, because it should have unfortunately happened, that his conduct should in some instances have rendered him liable to suspicion, and he should on some occasions have supported measures which might appear inconsistent with the principles and maxims by which his political life has been guided. I must allow, when this apparent change of conduct has taken place upon the individual coming into the possession of place and emolument, appearances are decidedly against him; but, Sir, in that case, let us examine his conduct; let us expose his errors; let us expostulate, but do not let us too hastily attribute a final departure from principle, and condemn his motives: we are at best but frail machines, continually the sport of passions and prejudices; let us then endeavour to bring back such a man to his duty, before we give him up as lost to the public cause. You have yourself, Sir, been in lamentable error; and I know of nothing more honourable to you, than the manliness with which you have acknowledged it. My insignificance has not sheltered me from your attacks, and for opinions which you now highly approve, and which you have since more ably enforced.—These observations have arisen, Sir, from the various attacks you have made on the conduct and character of Mr. Sheridan; I mean not here to vindicate him, nor even to enter into a discussion on the subject; but hope to be allowed to say, that so far as I have been able to form a judgment upon his parliamentary conduct, I have generally approved it; I must be understood to mean previous to his acceptation of office; for, I believe, since, then he has scarcely appeared in the House, which is undoubtedly a subject of heavy complaint against him. His talents, when seriously exerted, are unquestionably great; his sentiments have ever been congenial with the great principles of liberty, upon which our constitution is founded. You know, Sir, what a great philosopher and statesman has proved, "that it is hard to make an empty bag stand upright;" and yet, Sir, Mr. Sheridan, under continual pecuniary embarrassments, as we are led to believe (arising, perhaps, from his own indiscretions), and which would havrene dered the seducements of office almost irresistible, and with the object beyond doubt within his each, has for more than twenty years, discovered a constancy hardly to be looked for, under such circumstances, in these degenerate times, and resolutely withstood every assault of that kind. Some merit must at least be allowed him, in withstanding such temptation. I certainly consider it, Sir, highly insulting to the country, to call upon the suffering people to make sacrifices, and to submit to privations, when the persons thus calling upon them, so far from giving them an example by making any sacrifices themselves, are lavishing the public treasure, and seem solely occupied in providing for themselves and families at the expense of the nation, and out of those taxes which are, according to a phrase from Mr. Sheridan himself, "wrung from the credulity of the people."—Yet, Sir, Mr. Sheridan is but new in office; there are many who have for a length of time been fattening on the corruptions of the state, with whom I should first begin; I conceive, therefore, you do not act with strict impartiality by directing your artillery chiefly at him, and making him appear the most prominent figure in the piece. It is not a new office, nor has it created any additional charge upon the public. I would not quarrel with him merely for accepting that place, provided he abandons not the principles he has professed; nor should I think he receives his salary for nothing, if he yet directs his efforts towards accomplishing those great objects he has at different times declared to be so essential to the peace, liberty, and happiness of the country. As to his son, his places, or pretensions, I know nothing concerning him or them, I shall therefore leave him in your hands. If Mr. Sheridan has not yet proposed or supported, since his elevation into office, any of those measures calculated to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and to restore the country to the full benefits of the constitution, I trust that, at least, it is to be attributed to nothing worse than indolence of disposition; let us hope that he only requires to be called back to his duty, and that we shall see him, with energy and vigour, exerting himself, not merely to reconcile the people to great sacrifices, but to promote those reformations and national objects which the situation of the country so imperiously require. These things, I should hope, have been sufficiently impressed upon him; should he, therefore, remain insensible to his duty, I have no hesitation in saying, he has given up the cause, and ought himself to be given up by every friend to the country. I beg now to give you, Sir, some extracts from a speech made by Mr. Sheridan, some years ago, by which the public, as well as himself, will be reminded of sentiments which certainly did him honour; and if a reformation of the abuses he complained of was then necessary, the increased difficulties of the country since that

period must have rendered them much more so at the present time. On the 15th day of March 1797, Mr. Harrison moved, in the House of Commons, and Lord John Russell seconded, the following motion:—"That the extent of the supplies voted to "Government, since the commencement of "the present war, having caused so heavy "an increase of taxes, it is the duty of this "house to inquire, whether some relief to "the burthens of the people, or provision "for further expenses, may not be obtained "by the reduction of useless places, sine-"cure offices, exorbitant fees, and other "modes of retrenchment in the expendi-"ture of the public money."——Mr. Sheridan, in the course of a long speech, spoke as follows:—"I say, the minister himself "holds some things which ought to be "lopped off. Will he tell exactly what his "own fees are? and will he maintain that "they are absolutely necessary, and that "none of them are received by him but for "proper services rendered to the public? "He then read a paper, stating, that a gen-"tleman sitting opposite (Mr. Rose) was, "with a salary of 3,200l. a year, Clerk of "Parliament, that is, Clerk to the House "of Lords; 4,000l. Master of the Pleas, "with another large salary, and several other "offices, which in all make 10,000l. a year. "I am not denying the merit of the hon. "gentleman; but, for God's sake, let us "understand the thing as it is; let us ask "whether all these offices are performed by "that hon. gentleman? and then let us ask "ourselves, whether there is any thing here "that may with safety to the public be "lopped off? Suppose we turn our eyes "to the situation of the right hon. gentle-"man himself (Mr. Pitt), I believe he holds "some which are not very laborious; or if "we take a view of the situation of a noble "lord, a near connection of his (Lord Gren-"ville), who for a short time filled that "chair, he holds a great sinecure office, "which was given him some time ago; "and whatever may be his merits, it *is* "*certain that he has not earned that sine-*"*cure* by a very long or very laborious em-"ployment in the public service." (Alluding, it is presumed, to the sinecure, to enable him to hold which an Act of Parliament was lately passed.) After some other observations to the same effect, Mr. Sheridan continued—"Is there not a general opinion "abroad, that these things are grievous; and "that by lopping many of them off, the "public may have considerable relief?—"The minister seems to be afraid of de-"luding the people with too much hope "from such a resource as this. I can tell "him the public have great expectations "upon this subject, and if he sets about "it properly the public will not be delud-"ed.——I do not look to relief by a "reduction of useless places in a pecuniary "sense merely; but I look to the effect "which that reduction will have—it will "destroy that influence which has contri-"buted so much to our undoing. Does "the minister reflect upon the impression "he has made on the public mind, by the "bribery he has employed to gain votes in "this house in advising his majesty to make "so lavish a distribution of the peerage? "There are no less than 160 peers created "since the commencement of the present "administration. *When we see the people* "*suffering under their burthens with such* "*admirable patience, have we no reason to* "*apprehend they will reflect on these* "*things? This will shew them, that every* "*public man who obtains rewards from the* "*minister, only thinks on his own interest,* "*without the least regard to the public wel-*"*fare.*" —Whatever may be your opinion, Sir, of the man, suffer me to hope, that those impressions are not entirely effaced from the mind of Mr. Sheridan; or, should the above extracts fall under his eye, that they may rouse him from his present sloth and inaction, to a noble and persevering exertion of his powers, to reform these shameful abuses, and to restore to the people their constitutional rights, by which he may retrieve his character in the public estimation, and yet be looked to as a friend to his country.—I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient Servant.

Winchmore Hill, Dec. 15, 1806. R. W.

TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ. M. P.

I. Upon Placemen in Parliament.—II. Upon Coalition of Party Leaders.

SIR,——As the agitation of the general election is now over, and the passions which have been roused by it are again allowed to sleep, it is natural that every man who has been much engaged in it should review the part which he has acted; and that "the still small voice" of reason, which may have been unheard amid the rude brawls of party men, should at length call up before us our past conduct, together with the motive to which it owed its birth.—It is my wish, in addressing you, to aid this inward monitor; since *you*, Sir, have deeply implicated yourself in the contests for Middlesex and Westminster. In a printed letter to Sir Francis Burdett, you favoured the public with your reasons for the part you took, and I have neither the right

nor the wish to deny that these were, in truth, the grounds upon which you acted.—They resolve themselves into two.—1. The censure which Sir Francis Burdett had passed, generally, upon coalitions of party leaders; and, 2. The unconstitutional tendency (for so you thought it!) of his language as to the seats of placemen in the House of Commons. Indeed, you touch upon other points: but the two which I have mentioned seem to be the main; and, upon each of these I had purposed troubling you with a letter. But, I have been anticipated as to the latter of them, by Sir Francis Burdett's own address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, where the clause, which he quotes from the 12 and 13, W. 3., the statute which elevated the reigning family to a throne, must convince you that his idea as to the seats of placemen in parliament, is not that unconstitutional novelty you strangely supposed it. ——Yet, as a place-bill has been a favourite plan with many of our most esteemed patriots, I will shortly trace, not the history of that measure, but a few facts relating to it.—In 1692, a bill of this nature was carried through the House of Commons. Being thrown out, at that time, by the Lords, (though by a majority of only two), it was again brought forward in the next year, and passed through both Houses, but was rejected by the King *. In 1696, the Commons once more took up the principle, which at last received the sanction of the whole legislature in 1701, when, by a restriction in the "Succession Bill," it became a part of our constitutional law.—I might here enumerate the reiterated attempts which, since the repeal of this measure, have been made to revive it; together with the instructions of whole counties to their representors to that effect, and might name the great and virtuous supporters of the liberties of Englishmen, whom it has found for its advocates, at all times, and both within and without the walls of parliament. But, I will only trouble you with a Resolution which was passed by the Freeholders of MIDDLESEX in 1773. ——"Resolved, "That it is the opinion of "the Freeholders of the County of MIDDLESEX that a return to the ancient mode "of representation in short parliaments, "and a bill for the exclusion of placemen "and pensioners from the House of Commons, is the most likely method of obtaining a redress of the various grievances under which the subjects of this kingdom labour."—So thought the Freeholders of MIDDLESEX in 1773: while you, Mr. WHITBREAD, and your friends*, have not only, asserted that "doctrine" to be a new one, but as such have urged it against a *candidate* for the very county where the *electors* had long since, and thus publicly made it their own.—Really, Sir, I am much at a loss, whether chiefly to admire your knowledge on this subject, or the time and place which you have so happily selected for displaying it.

SIR, I now come to that part of your letter which relates to the coalition of party leaders, though without purposing to follow you through all your argument or all your declamation: mere general reasoning is a field where we might long wander without meeting. But the history of our country is matter of fact; and a fact, to be disputed, must be fairly met and openly encountered. —You fix upon a coalition of Whig and Tory leaders about the time of the revolution in 1688, not only as throwing light upon the subject at large, but as tending, even to sanctify, in your eyes, other coalitions by its example.—"You assume" (say you to Sir Francis Burdett) "that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, "that it never is in favour of the people, "and that the history of the world bears "evidence of the truth of your assertion. "It appears to me" (you continue) "that "the doctrine you maintain, that the political animosities of honest men must be irreconcileable, is most fatal to the existence of a popular government, and if carried to the extreme must tend to the subjugation of the country, or to the abandonment of liberty, in order to obtain security from foreign conquest: and to "history I refer you for the fact, that if the "heads of discordant parties could not be "united in the cause of the people, the revolution of 1688 in which we glory could "not have been brought about."——Now, Sir, it is clear to me, *that the revolution in*

* Upon this, the Commons resolved, "that whoever gave the king advice to refuse the royal assent to a bill which was "to redress a grievance, and *take off a* "*scandal* from the proceedings of the "Commons in Parliament, is an enemy to "king and country."

* Mr. O'BRYEN too, has pronounced this "doctrine" to be "neither English, nor "French, nor Greek, nor Roman, but totally original, wholly new," and the public papers represent Mr. TIERNEY to have sneered at the holders of it as "Patriots of the New School!!" What do these Whigs mean? Is all this ignorance? Or what is it?

1688, *was* NOT "*brought about by a coalition of party leaders, but that, it was by a coalition of this kind that its real principles were sacrificed, and the new settlement brought into danger.*—Here, then, we are at issue, and let history decide between us. From that, we learn, that when the Prince of Orange landed in our country, and, indeed, for a considerable time before this, the whole people down to the very soldiery and fleet, being at once alarmed by the prospect of popery and discontented from oppressions, were united, as one man, against their king; and, that all which the party-leaders did, and all, indeed, which they could do, either when they first invited the Prince of Orange, or afterward, when they joined him, was to take advantage, each for his own purpose, of this strong and national feeling.—"When "the news of his" (the Prince's) "landing "was spread through England, he was wel- "comed by the *universal* acclamations of "*the people*. He had the hands, the hearts, "and the prayers of *all* honest men in the "nation. *Every one* thought the long wish- "ed for time of their deliverance was come. "King James was deserted by his own fa- "mily, his court, and his army. The "ground he stood upon mouldered under "him." *(Trenchard's* excellent History of Standing Armies.)—See, Sir, the portrait of those times as drawn by an eye witness of them. Yet, you could discover in this burst of general indignation nothing but a coalition between "the heads of discordant parties." But, with the fact and the authority for it now before us, it is manifest that the Revolution was "brought about" by an union of a very different kind; and one, too, which does not at all bear upon your question with Sir Francis Burdett; for he has never disputed that an union of "the hands and hearts and prayers," as this was, of the whole "people" would be meant at least, for their own benefit.—Afterward, it is true, William became a dabbler in coalitions; and one of party-men, such as that which you speak of, did, indeed, take place, though not till after he was seated on the throne. Even then, some time passed before it was completely formed, and the most corrupt means were employed to cement it. I will not delay you with the particulars of this*, but has-

* But, though I will not enter into these particulars, Bishop Burnett will. He tells us, that Sir John Trevor, (who was Speaker of the House of Commons) was "a bold "and dexterous man, who knew the most "effectual way of recommending himself to "every government. Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, "provided he was furnished with such "sums of money as might purchase some "votes."

* See the Declaration by the Prince of Orange: where he also says, that a "lawful parliament would bring them to account" and brand them as "conspirators" against the "religion, lives, and liberties of the subject."—The writer of a letter, (supposed to be Mr., afterwards Marquis of, Wharton) to King William, reminds him of the evils which surround him, and points out the measures which brought them on. From this letter (which is well worth the reading) it seems that the people of those days did not think this "union of the heads of discordant parties," was in their (the people's) "favour." For the writer telling him that he had "lost the hearts of great part of his people," ascribes this to his "gathering together King James's army;" and "that many of King James's friends, and others, known enemies to the laws and government of England, were received into his (William's) councils, and promoted to places of greatest trust." [See Appendix to Sir J. Dalrymple's Memoirs.

"to the second point which I shall endeavour to prove; I mean the sacrifices which such a coalition led to—It led, then, to the sacrifice of a great principle, when it relieved the ministers of James from responsibility. That coalition was, from its outset, in direct contrast with all manly sentiment, and with the generous maxim of our law, and while it left the prince an exile, not only screened his "evil counsellors" from inquiry, but even brought them into the closet of the newly chosen king; though William had himself "declared" that he stood in need of an army to protect him from their "violence *."——I am as far, Sir, as you can be, from arraigning that righteous judgment which cashiered a king, who had abused those powers which the constitution had entrusted to him, and usurped others which it had not; who had, moreover, influenced elections to the House of Commons, and pretended even, to dispense with the laws themselves. All these were beyond doubt measures of decided guilt, and such as should have led, likewise, to the punishment both of those who had contrived, and those who had executed them. *Can* we look, without disgust, at such coalitions as not only sheltered those ministers from justice, but restored them to office and power—as placed Lord SUNDERLAND, for instance, first in the favour of the new King, and Kirk (even

KIRK!!!) at the head of an expedition for the relief of the Irish Protestants? For consistency's sake, must we not regret that the zeal of an enraged people, and the workings of an "*ardent mind*" should have shortened the life of JEFFRIES? A few months more might have replaced that "venerable" judge upon the woolsack; and the Whigs of our day might have then, held out to us a coalition even more comprehensive" than it was, or boasted of an administration built upon a still "broader basis."——But, the mischiefs, which took their rise from this principle of "uniting the heads of discordant parties," did not end even here; for these corrupt ministers of James, who had been again brought into office under William employed all the means which their situation gave them in aiding their former master; and, for the express purpose of bringing back a king in whose crimes they had, themselves shared, and whose fortunes they had once abandoned, they not only plotted with him the risings of their own countrymen, and the landing of French forces in England, but traitorously gave notice to the French court of those warlike expeditions which the English government was preparing against France, both as to the time and points of attack; so that it is wonderful how the new settlement could ever stand, while it was in this manner betrayed by those "evil counsellors" to whom the coalition of party-leaders had given these powerful means of betraying it, by screening them, in the first instance, from punishment, and, afterwards bringing them into places of trust and power.—Such, Sir, is the point of view in which I and many more have looked at this subject. I might, at first, have questioned your reasoning, and disputed the inference you seem to draw, that coalitions in general are right, because one coalition made, too, under very peculiar circumstances, appeared to you to be so. But, I thought it the more manly way to meet you upon a fact of your own choosing. Differing from you as to that fact, I have endeavoured to show (as I undertook to do) that *the Revolution in* 1688, *was not brought about by any coalition of party-leaders; that on the contrary, it was by a coalition of this kind its real principles were sacrificed, and the new settlement itself brought into danger.*——I trust that I have established my point; though, from a wish that I might not weary you, I have rejected many proofs which crouded on my mind. It is a point of high interest in the history of our country; and, doubly so, now it affects, in some measure, the political parties of our own time; especially that party whose leaders would, by this example, justify their own coalitions; and though a topic of the day has, indeed, called out the remarks which I have made, both as to the Revolution itself, and as to the seats of placemen in the House of Commons; yet if these remarks shall lead, either you, Sir, to reflect upon the facts which they apply to, or any other persons *duly to estimate the present Whig party*, they may be useful in their effects, not only after your letter, Sir, and mine, but even the political animosities which gave rise to them, shall have died away.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,——J. P.—*Dec.* 14, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIAN DECLARATION.

Dated from the Head Quarters at Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.—*Continued from p.* 960.

These were all preludes to the steps he took against Prussia; we now approach the moment which determined his majesty —— Prussia had hitherto derived nothing from her treaties with France, but humiliation and loss; one single advantage remained. The fate of Hanover was in her power: and in her power it must remain, unless the last pledge of the security of the North were annihilated. Napoleon had solemnly guaranteed this state of things, yet he negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of the electorate. The king is in possession of the proofs.——War was now in fact declared, declared by every measure taken by

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume X, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

France. Every month produced a new notification of the return of his army; but on one frivolous pretext or another, it was still continued in Germany, and for what purposes? Gracious Heaven! to eradicate the last trace of sovereignty among the Germans to treat kings as governors appointed by himself; to drag before military tribunals, citizens only responsible to their own governments; to declare others outlaws who lived peaceably in foreign states under foreign sovereigns, and even in the capital of a German Emperor, because they had published writings in which the French government, or at least its despotism, was attacked, and this at the time when that same government daily permitted hired libellers to attack, under its protection, the honour of all crowned heads, and the most sacred feelings of nations. These armies were in no manner diminished, but continually reinforced and augmented, and continually advanced nearer to the frontiers of Prussia or her allies, till they at length took a position which could only menace Prussia, and were even assembled in force in Westphalia, which certainly was not the road to the mouths of the Cattaro.—It was no longer doubtful that Napoleon had determined to overwhelm Prussia with war, or to render her for ever incapable of war, since he was leading her from humiliation to humiliation, till she should be reduced to such a state of political degradation and feebleness, that, deprived of every defence, she could have no other will than that of her formidable neighbour.—The king delayed no longer. He assembled his army. General Knoblesdorff was sent to Paris with the final declarations of his majesty. Only one measure remained which could give security to the king, which was the return of the French troops over the Rhine. The time for discussion was past, though the cabinet of St. Cloud appeared still desirous to protract it. General Knoblesdorff had orders to insist on this demand. It was not the whole of the king's just demands, but it was necessary that it should be the first, since it was the condition of his future existence. The acceptance or refusal of it must shew the real sentiments of the French Emperor.—Unmeaning professions, arguments, the real value of which were known, by long experience, were the only answers the king received. Far from the French army being recalled, it was announced that it would be reinforced; but, with an haughtiness still more remarkable than this refusal, an offer was made that the troops which had advanced into Westphalia should return home, if Prussia would desist from her preparations. This was not all. It was insolently notified to the king's ministers that the cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubec, would not be allowed to join the northern confederation, but that France would take them under her protection, in the same manner as in the other confederation she had given away cities and promulgated laws, without permitting any other power to make the least pretension. The king was required to suffer a foreign interest to be introduced into the heart of his monarchy. Another contrast of conduct incensed the king to the utmost. He received from the emperor a letter full of those assurances of esteem which, certainly when they do not accord with facts, are to be considered as nothing, but which the dignity of sovereigns renders a duty to themselves even when on the eve of war. Yet a few days afterwards, at a moment when the sword was not yet drawn, when the minister of the emperor endeavoured to mislead those of the king by assurances on assurances, of the friendly intentions of France, the Publiciste of the 16th of September appeared with a diatribe against the king and the Prussian state, in a style worthy of the most disgraceful periods of the revolution: insulting to the nation, and what in other times than ours would have been considered as amounting to a declaration of war. The king can treat slanders that are merely abusive with contempt, but when these slanders contribute to explain the real state of things, it would be unwise to treat them merely with contempt.—The last doubt had now disappeared; troops marched from the interior of France towards the Rhine. The intent to attack Prussia was clear and certain. The king ordered a note to be transmitted by General Knobelsdorff, containing the conditions on which he was ready to come to an accommodation. These conditions were—1. That the French troops will immediately evacuate Germany.—2. That France would oppose no obstacle to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that the confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states, not included in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.—3. That a negotiation should immediately be commenced, for the adjustment of all differences still in dispute: a preliminary article of which should be the restoration of the three abbeys and the separation of the town of Wesel from the French empire.—These conditions speak for themselves: they shew how moderate the king, even at this moment, has been in his demands, and how much the maintenance of peace, if France wishes peace depends upon France herself.——The term

peremptorily fixed by the king for the decision of peace or war has elapsed. His majesty has not received the answer of the cabinet of St. Cloud, or rather the preparations he sees around him, daily give him that answer. The king can henceforth confide the honour and safety of his crown only to arms, he has recourse to them with pain, since a glory purchased by the tears of his people was never his wish; but he has recourse to them with the tranquillity of confidence, since his cause is just.

To be continued.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Kings Speech.—On Friday the 19th of December 1806, the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission with the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,—His Majesty has commanded us to assure you, that, in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great Satisfaction to Him to recur to the Firmness and Wisdom of His Parliament, after so recent an Opportunity of collecting the Sense of his People —His Majesty has ordered the Papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negociation with France to be laid before you. His Majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquility on terms consistent with the interests and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.—The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events. After witnessing the subversion of the ancient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandisement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with His Majesty; nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility. —Yet, in this situation, His Majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of calamities which ensued opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose. In the midst of these trying circumstances, the good faith of His Majesty's allies has remained unshaken, The conduct of the King of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists—It has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence; and His Majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the best remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honor and independance of your country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to His Majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his Majesty's wishes by combining all practicable economy with those efforts which is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,—The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe could not fail to affect in some degree many important interests of this country. But under every successive difficulty His Majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an increasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations.— The unconquerable valour and discipline of His Majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre: the great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been at any time more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independance of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.—With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of divine Providence, His Majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis, assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people.

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from June 1806 to November, 1806, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.												
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried Males	Total Buried Female
June	849	8	347	139	54	30	106	119	129	102	67	49	28	5	601	583
July	920	8	362	141	58	42	111	123	130	115	68	29	26	6	620	592
August	964	83	519	151	65	63	98	115	124	117	104	55	34	6	770	681
September....	733	70[illegible]	486	113	53	51	85	131	136	115	87	61	20	4	785	656
October.....	1134	1004	628	234	107	90	142	219	204	176	177	107	60	12	1132	1034
November ..	728	742	463	173	57	44	96	130	145	108	125	85	33	8	768	699
	5228	4965	2805	951	394	320	638	837	868	933	637	394	201	41	4676	4245

Total Christenings.. 10193 Total Burials.. 8921

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Beef ..	5 8	5 0	5 0	5 0	4 6	5 0	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Mutton	4 10	5 0	5 8	6 0	5 2	5 2	
Pork ..	5 4	5 4	5 4	6 0	5 8	6 0	
Sugars	40 3	40[illegible]. $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $4\frac{1}{2}$	42 10	41 11	37 10	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	48 0	50 6	49 6	52 6	54 3	50 6	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

June		July		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.				s. d.		s. d.
6	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$	4	1. 1	1	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$	5	1. $0\frac{1}{2}$	3	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$	7	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$
13	1. $1\frac{1}{2}$	11	1. 1	8	1. $1\frac{1}{2}$	12	1. $0\frac{3}{4}$	10	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$	14	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$
20	1 1	18	1. 1	15	1. $0\frac{1}{2}$	19	1. $0\frac{1}{2}$	17	1. 1	21	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$
27	1. 0	25	1. 1	22	1. $0\frac{3}{4}$	26	1. 1	24	1. $1\frac{1}{4}$	28	1. 1

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from June to November, 1806, inclusive.

Day.	J	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	—	63	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$
2	$61\frac{1}{4}$	—	$63\frac{1}{4}$	$62\frac{3}{8}$	63	—
3	$61\frac{1}{8}$	—	64	$62\frac{1}{8}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{8}$
4	—	$63\frac{1}{8}$	—	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	—
5	$61\frac{1}{4}$	$63\frac{1}{4}$	$65\frac{3}{4}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	—	—
6	$61\frac{1}{8}$	—	$65\frac{7}{8}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$62\frac{3}{4}$	$61\frac{1}{8}$
7	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{1}{4}$	$64\frac{7}{8}$	—	$62\frac{5}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{8}$
8	—	—	$64\frac{5}{8}$	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$
9	$61\frac{1}{2}$	—	$64\frac{7}{8}$	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$	—
10	$61\frac{5}{8}$	63	—	$63\frac{1}{2}$	$60\frac{7}{8}$	$61\frac{7}{8}$
11	—	63	$63\frac{3}{4}$	—	$61\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$
12	$61\frac{5}{8}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$63\frac{7}{8}$	$63\frac{5}{8}$	—	$61\frac{1}{4}$
13	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$64\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{5}{8}$	$60\frac{7}{8}$	$61\frac{7}{8}$
14	—	—	$64\frac{1}{4}$	—	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$
15	$61\frac{1}{4}$	—	63	$63\frac{1}{4}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$
16	—	63	$62\frac{5}{8}$	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$61\frac{5}{8}$	—
17	$62\frac{3}{4}$	63	—	$63\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$	$61\frac{5}{8}$
18	63	—	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{1}{4}$	—	$61\frac{1}{4}$
19	$62\frac{5}{8}$	—	$62\frac{7}{8}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	—	$61\frac{5}{8}$
20	$63\frac{1}{2}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$	—	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{5}{8}$
21	$63\frac{7}{8}$	$62\frac{1}{4}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$	—	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{7}{8}$
22	—	—	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$
23	63	—	—	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{4}$	—
24	$63\frac{1}{4}$	$62\frac{1}{4}$	—	$62\frac{5}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$
25	—	—	$63\frac{3}{8}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	—	$60\frac{7}{8}$
26	$68\frac{1}{4}$	$62\frac{7}{8}$	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	—	61
27	$63\frac{1}{8}$	—	$62\frac{1}{8}$	$63\frac{1}{4}$	—	$60\frac{1}{4}$
28	63	—	$62\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{7}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{2}$	—
29	$63\frac{3}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$63\frac{7}{8}$	$63\frac{1}{8}$	$61\frac{1}{8}$	$60\frac{1}{2}$
30	—	—	$63\frac{1}{8}$	—	$61\frac{5}{8}$	—
31	—	—	—	—	$61\frac{1}{4}$	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from June to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

Day.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
1	61.80	—	67.20	—	—	71.15
2	—	—	—	66.75	64.30	—
3	—	63.75	—	—	—	—
4	62. 0	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	63.80	—	66.80	64.30	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	72. 0
7	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	—	67.10	—	64.25	72.10
9	62.10	64. 0	—	66.80	—	—
10	—	64.10	—	—	64.25	—
11	—	—	67.20	—	—	72.80
12	62.15	64.50	—	66.50	64.30	—
13	—	64.75	—	—	—	—
14	—	—	67.25	—	—	—
15	—	—	—	—	—	72.80
16	—	—	—	—	64.30	—
17	63	65.20	—	66.25	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	67. 0	—	—	72.90
20	—	66. 0	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—	72. 9
22	62.10	—	67. 0	—	—	—
23	—	67.20	66.90	66. 0	69. 0	—
24	63.10	—	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	—	67.20	66.90	—	69. 0	—
27	63.20	—	—	—	—	—
28	63.20	—	—	65.10	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	70.10	—
30	63.50	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from June to November, 1806, inclusive

June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
65	49	72	86	73	68

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